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601 reciprocal, means brothers as well as sisters. If he wishes to specify, he adds to makwabu : "of the assagai," or "of the basket." It is never employed except when united with the possessive pronoun : *makweru* means my brother, *makwenu* your brother, *makwabu*, his brother or sister. The elder brother is called *nhondjwa* (plur. tinhondjwa). The nhondjwa is also called *hosi* (plur. tihosi) chief. The hierarchy of age is very strictly 601 observed amongst the Thongas. The elder brother is treated 593 with great respect and gives orders to his younger brothers with 595 almost the same authority as the father. It must be noticed also that the position of elder brother is not only a matter of age, but, in the polygamic family, all the children of a first wife, or of the first house, are *tihosi* to the children of secondary or posterior wives or houses, though they may have been born after them. They take precedence of them. Amongst girls, an elder sister is often called *mamana*, mother, whilst an elder brother is never a tatana (father) but a hosi (chief).

601 The term *makwabu* is applied to all my first and second cousins 428 who have the same paternal grandfather, or great-grandfather, 605 as I have. Cousins on my mother's side are also bamakwabu, some of them at least, those who are my maternal aunt's children. But cousins on the father's side are more fully bamakwabu than those on the mother's side : Muhambi is more so to Hlangabeza than to Mahlobo, because the two former belong to the same shibongo, family name ; they are men of the Makaneta clan and Muhambi could therefore inherit Hlangabeza's wives ; Muhambi and Mahlobo are not of the same clan, and could not inherit from each other. From this fact we begin to see that the laws of inheritance, and especially the laws of the distribution of the widows amongst the family which has bought them, are closely connected with the system of relationship.

601 The man who has married my wife's sister is also a makwabu to me, a nhondjwa if he has married her elder sister (Phayindi to Mboza), a ndjisana if the younger (Magwazizen to Mboza). The brothers of Phayindi and Magwazizen are also called brothers by Mboza.

There is a special term in the Northern clans to indicate the

604 with his friends. The malume comes back and is angry. But when he hears that the trick has been played by his mupsyana, he shrugs his shoulders and says : "Oh it is all right if it is the ntukulu who has done it ! A shi biwi ntukulu! The nephew must never be beaten!" When another day the nephew comes again, the malume says : "You starved us to death the other day!" — "Is there any more food handy that I may do it again ?" answers the boy. The sons of the malume seem to have
605 less patience with their cousin than their father has. When the cousin goes definitely beyond the limits of their endurance, they will chase him out of the village saying : "Go away, you dog!" The niece is sometimes as troublesome as the nephew. If she is married and pays a visit to her malume with her husband, she will leave the latter comfortably settled in the malume's hut and search the whole village to discover pots of beer, which she will bring to him as if she were the mistress of the home. She may even catch a fowl and give it to him.

604 Sometimes the malume himself points to one of his wives and
837 says to the ntukulu : "[illegible]s is your wife. Let her feast you
587 well!" The woman much enjoys the situation, which she finds quite entertaining. She makes a feast for the ntukulu and calls him *nkata*, husband. It will sometimes go so far that the nephew will say to the uncle : "Please make haste and die that I may have your wife!" — "Do you intend to kill me with a gun ?" says the malume... But all this talking is a mere joke. The nephew can take many liberties with this aunt, especially in the Ronga clans. He will never however have relations with her during the life of her husband. Should he do so, he will have to pay the high fine due for a true adultery. Possibly he will inherit her when the malume dies, but she will not be his full property : she will only be given (nyika) to him, and the children will eventually belong to the malume's male relatives. All over the tribe this right of inheriting a malume's wife is recognized. In the Northern clans she is called *kokwana* ; in Ronga territory she is called kokwana by her nieces only, but her nephews call her *nsati* (wife), and this term seems also to be an old feature of the relationship system. This relation of malume and mupsyana is so important

604 that I intend to treat it more fully later on in a special paragraph, when considering the traces of older forms of family life amongst the Thongas.

601 The true malume is the mother's full brother. But all her half brothers are also bamalume in the second degree ; so are also the brothers of the true malume.

605 835 582 What about the *children of the malume*, my cousins, or rather my cross-cousins, sons and daughters of my mother's brothers, viz. Shaputa and Marangen as opposed to Madonge and Misaben ? In Zulu, Sutho, Pedi there is a special term to indicate this relation, (mzala, motsoala, mudzwala, muzwala). And the main feature of the family system in those tribes is that a cousin has a prior right to marry the daughter of his maternal uncle, his mzala. Amongst the Thongas there is nothing of the kind. The special term does not exist except in the Maputju clan, at the Southern extremity of Thonga territory, where it is met with in the form of *ntale* (corresponding to mzala, according to the law of phonetic permutation) (1) or *shitale* (when preceded by the prefix shi).

605 835 582 602 But the right of marrying this cousin is not recognized in the Thonga tribe. One can play with her, steal some object from her in fun, but never take her as a wife. Such a breach of the custom would be punished by the chief. Later on, when the special relation of cross-cousins has been more or less forgotten, marriage could take place between them, but, at any rate, the ceremony of dlaya shilongo (see p. 256) would be performed, in order to "kill" the previous relationship and to replace it by the new relation of husband and wife.

This being so, how do cross-cousins behave towards each other in the Thonga system ? As regards the daughter of their maternal uncle, the relationship is somewhat different for Misaben, a boy, and for Madonge, a girl. To Misaben the boy, Shaputa, his cousin, is mamana and she will call him son, ñwana, because, as we have seen, Shaputa is a potential wife for Mboza, father of Misaben, and Mboza calls her nkata, nsati, namu. To Madonge,

605 (1) They also employ the cognate form *muzali*, which is more akin to the Zulu regular term, and this tends to show that the Maputjus have borrowed this expression from their Zulu neighbours of Northern Amatongaland.

605 the girl, Shaputa is also a mamana ; but the term makweru, my sister, is more frequently used. So we find this strange fact : Maphunga, the mother of Shaputa is a wife to Misaben, while her daughter, Shaputa, is a mother to him!

As regards the son of my malume, he is also a malume or a kokwana, though he may be of the same age or even younger than I, because he belongs to the family from which we take wives and also because he has a kind of right to offer sacrifices for his ntukulu, as we shall see. Totally different is the relationship between Misaben and Mahlobo and Mathamba, *children of his mother's sister*. They are *bamakwabu* as truly as the children of rarana, the paternal aunt, because they have sucked from the same breast (ba yañwele bele djinwe).

601 At this point of my treatise I must stop for a moment to consider more closely the use of these two terms, *kokwana and ntukulu*, which are so widely employed in the Thonga-kinship system. They are applied first to the relation between a grandson and his grandparents on the father's side, i. e. his paternal grandfather and his paternal grandmother; secondly to the relation between that same grandson and his maternal grandfather and grandmother and to the relation of a nephew to his maternal uncle and to all the male members of his mother's family. Now my informants point out very decidedly that these two relations are very different from each other, and they call the bakokwana on the father's side *bakokwana ba shinene* (the true bakokwana), whilst the bakokwana on the mother's side are *bakokwana ba shisati* (the bakokwana on the female side) ; one also speaks of *batukulu ba shinene*, the real batukulu and of *batukulu ba shisati*, the batukulu by females. How is it possible for them to make such an identification, an identification which we find in almost all the South African tribes (See Table. App. IV) ? They recognize that the two relations are not the same, and the description which we have just given clearly shows the difference.

It would be useful to know the etymology of these two terms. Unhappily my informants could not ascertain it. Kokwana is the diminutive of koko, which has been preserved in its original form in the Zulu word gogo and in the Khosa koko. This root, associated with prefixes which are not those of the personal class, means either the dried carcase of a dead animal, or a person with stiff limbs, who cannot

582 177 609 648 In Shiluvane, I was in a very favorable position to judge of the real feelings of the Thongas. There were two tribes there, which had been living side by side for more than seventy years, tribes united by old friendship and military alliance, viz., the Nkuna clan of the Thongas and the Khaha clan of the Pedis. I did not see a single case of intermarriage between them. The difference of language could not account for the fact, because generally speaking, all the men could speak both Thonga and Pedi. When asked why they did not contract unions with the Pedis, the Nkunas answered: "Their customs are too disgusting for us." They meant more especially the freedom with which Khaha women commit adultery. Pedis would probably have made the same objection to the immorality of Thonga boys and girls. Whatever may be the cause, they have not intermarried up to this day.

582 On the other hand the Thongas are *exogamic* as regards the family. To understand properly these exogamic rules, let us classify the cases in the four following categories: Cases of absolute prohibition of marriage; of conditional permission; of unconditional permission, and cases in which marriage is recommended.

I. *Cases of absolute prohibition.*

582 605 As a rule marriage is prohibited between a tatana, mamana, rarana and a ñwana, and between bamakwabu.

On the father's side the prohibition is particularly severe. Amongst the Ba-Ronga, it is taboo for a boy to marry a girl when both can lay claim to a common ancestor in the paternal line. It seems that the rule is not so stringent in the Northern clans. According to Mankhelu, marriage is absolutely prohibited between all the descendants of a grandfather, viz., between first cousins. Between second cousins it is permitted conditionally, "by killing the family tie," and between third cousins it is allowed. "Third cousins" as Mankhelu says, "are *batlandlamani ba tolo*; they belong to families which were relatives yesterday. We are

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582 no longer taboo for them, we can go and take a wife amongst
605 them."

On the mother's side, this absolute prohibition extends to first cousins when the mothers are sisters. They are true bamakwabu ; they have been nursed at the same breast. But more remote cousins marry more easily when their relationship is on the mother's side. The bakokwana do not marry their batukulu, owing to their duty of sacrificing for them, but the batukulu have a kind of preferential right to women related to their mother : "Where father has married, I may also go to find my wife," said Gana. However the rule remains that bamakwabu must not intermarry.

When asked : "Why?" the Thongas generally say : "Because it is so. Psa yila. It is our law." It is however possible to find some more satisfactory reasons ; for these prohibitions are dictated to a certain extent *by fear of consanguinity*. Natives have probably noticed that the offspring of such unions are sometimes weak in intellect or altogether wanting. Therefore, in this polygamic family system, they make a careful distinction between relatives who are of the same mother and of the same father, and those whose mothers are different. When a cousin is by another grandmother, though I call her makwabu just as I do my true sister or first cousin, I may contemplate marrying her. She is my half first cousin only. However the fear of consanguinity is not the only nor perhaps the strongest reason for these exogamic rules. If it were so, why should relatives on the father's side be more taboo than those on the mother's side ? Moreover it is strange to see that in the royal families the same prohibitions are not maintained. Ñwamantibyana, chief of Mpfumo, married Mimalengane, his rarana, his first cousin once removed on the father's side. If the physical dangers alone arising from consanguinous unions were thought of, such marriages ought to be doubly feared in the royal family!

It seems to me that there are two other reasons :

582 In the Thonga mind there is *a natural repulsion to confounding and intermingling bushaka and bukoñwana*, relationship by blood and by marriage. Bushaka is a kind of relation which they do not deem compatible with bukoñwana, as we shall presently see.